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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an overview of the role of education and training in the reconstruction and development of South Africa. It describes the history of education and the rationale for reconstruction and development programs. Issues and transitional reform initiatives pertaining to educational policies, general education, tertiary education, adult basic education, and partnerships are summarized. Future tasks to be undertaken in the area of education and training include: (1) building new and renovating existing institutions at the national, provincial, and local levels; (2) linking UNESCO's Education for All principles to the 10-year compulsory education system; (3) strengthening policy research, analysis, and development functions; and (4) renewing and qualitatively improving educational content. Plans for tertiary education in the following areas are also described: science and technical education, population and preventive education, girls' and women's education, programs for out-of-school youth, adult basic education, distance education, and coordination and integration. (LMI)

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EDUCATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: A POLICY DISCOURSE

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1994

Paper commissioned by UNESCO, Paris as part of preparation for the South Africa International Donors Conference on Human Resource Development in the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Cape Town, 26-28 October, 1994.

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PREFACE

This "International Paper" on the role of education and training in the reconstruction and development of South Africa is meant to complement the "National Paper" on the same topic that would concurrently have analyzed the present situation of education and training in South Africa, identifying issues, defining problems and suggesting probable solutions in the present historical context of South Africa. The task of this paper will be performed by (i) providing reflective analyses of international experiences in education for development by way of framing South Africa's national policies and strategies, (ii) examining issues that have been resolved and those that remain and (iii) thereby underlining challenges that must be faced in using education, and the human resource development strategy in general, in the reconstruction and development of South Africa.

To put our task in perspective, it should be stated that the policy debate in South Africa surrounding the role of education and training in reconstruction and development has been long, participative, comprehensive, competent, and fruitful. The Center for Education Policy Development (CEPD) in Johannesburg, in performing its tasks of policy research and policy development, has used the best available data, collected fresh data where none was available, and combining reasoned argument with political realities, has carefully drawn up implications for policy directions and policy implementation. While the policy debate is still open, there has already been a coming together of minds in regard to certain perspectives, framework, institutional mechanisms, approaches and modalities.

In all its work, the CEPD has drawn upon the resources available within the country as well as called upon the best of colleagues and consultants from around the world. The policy debate in South Africa, therefore, is already well informed of the international perspectives, policies, and experiences. In bringing an international dimension, once again, to the deliberations included in the national paper(s), all we hope is to reinforce and reassure, and, perhaps, fill in a gap here and add an emphasis there.

It should also be added that some of the policy initiatives, plans and proposals being suggested in this paper for implementation by the democratic government of South Africa have already been seen by the educational leadership in the ANC and the CEPD and several of these have received an initial nod of approval.

I. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Historical Context

"Let a New Age Be Born!" Mr. Nelson Mandela had proclaimed at the end of his speech accepting the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo on December 10, 1993. The birth of a nonracial, nonsexist, democratic South Africa five months later on May 10, 1994 has indeed inaugurated a new age, as it ended the history of 500 years of colonization of Africa begun by the Portuguese and closed the curtain on three hundred and forty-two years of White rule in South Africa itself.

Oppression, and the struggle against it, are often born at the same time. However, the struggle in South Africa may be seen to have found its feet in 1912 with the organization of the African National Congress. The aspirations of the revolution in-the-making were embodied in the language of The Freedom Charter of June 26, 1955 that proclaimed: "The People Shall Govern."

The thick and dark clouds of Apartheid broke open and the sun burst forth on February 2, 1990, when President F.W. de Klerk in a truly historic speech in the Parliament unbanned the African National Congress, and the Pan African Congress (PAC), legalized the South African Communist Party (SACP), and released Nelson Mandela from prison.

It then became clear for everyone to see that the beginning of the end of Apartheid was upon them and that the Black majority would in due course take power in South Africa. The Black leadership, led by Nelson Mandela became immediately engaged, in great earnestness, with the challenge of getting Ready to Govern. Both the Reconstruction and Development document and the document entitled, A Policy Framework for Education and Training are an important part of the preparation to govern in behalf of the people and in the people's interest.

Rationale for Reconstruction and Development Programme

To develop appropriate policy options and to make informed policy choices, the overlapping contexts of development ideology, theory and practice in South Africa must be understood:

The Ideology of "Reconstruction and Development"

The Reconstruction and Development vision of the democratic government is rooted in the long history of the struggle for democracy in South Africa and echoes the yearnings

of the people first expressed in the Freedom Charter of 1955. To cloth in the contemporary language of development, it promises growth with development -- production of wealth combined with distributive justice. It is thus a project of "modernization with a human face."

Modernization gets a human face by acquiring a people-centered mission -- to meet the Basic Needs of all the people of South Africa and not merely focussing on brick and steel structures and annual increases in GNP per capita. The list of Basic Needs as defined in the Reconstruction and Development document is more comprehensive than any other listing of Basic Needs found anywhere else in the world and includes: land reform, housing and services, water and sanitation, energy and electrification, telecommunications, transportation, environment, nutrition, health care, social security and social welfare, education and training, arts and culture, sports and youth services.

The fulfillment of these Basic Needs of people will be made possible in an expanding economy in which the rural and urban sectors of the economy will be made to work in a mutually generative relationship of sustainable growth. The processes of economic development will be rooted in the processes of political democratization wherein people at various levels of the society will be able to participate in decision making in meaningful ways.

There will be affirmative action in behalf of the disadvantaged, but without high handed expropriation or discrimination. Reconciliation will be the overriding national value.

To sum, Reconstruction and Development program is "an integrated programme, based on the people, that builds the nation, by linking reconstruction and development, with deepening democracy."

Conceptualization of the Dynamics of Change

The Reconstruction and Development document takes the systems view of the dynamics of change, encompassing all the of the overlapping and interdependent systems of the economy, polity, society and culture. Changes are seen to be necessary in the relations of power that are embedded in the structures of inherited institutions, and which are reinforced by the superstructures of values that justified those relationships.

At an operational level, the dynamics of planned change is seen to require actions along two dimensions: institution building and human resource development. Institution building will require renovating inherited institutional arrangements and

building brand new institutions to serve the needs of all the people in the new democratic South Africa. Institutions, both old and new, will be given new managerial and technical capacities. More importantly, institutions assigned to the tasks of actualizing reconstruction and development will be infused with the new values of interracial amity and mutual tolerance so that acknowledgement, forgiveness and reconciliation can indeed permeate the lives of all the peoples. In other words, reconstruction and development will involve changes both in structures of political economy and superstructures of values.

The Reconstruction and Development document rightly states: "Our economic policies require human resource development on a massive scale. Improved training and education are essential to higher employment, the introduction of more advanced technologies, and reduced inequalities (RDP, 36)." Human resource development, to prepare people to lead and work in the new and renovated institutions, is seen broadly to include formal education, nonformal education, and informal education provided by institutions of media and culture as well as learning acquired formally through training, and informally at the workplace -- farm, factory, business, army, church, or at the point of delivery of services.

The Framework of Education and Training

An ANC policy paper states: "South Africa will have a national system of education and training which enables citizens to become progressively qualified in a lifelong process."

First, education is seen as a lifelong process -- from cradle to grave. Second, the citizens in view are all of the citizens. The framework includes in its scope of concern those 15 million or more of men and women who have been bypassed by the formal system of education under apartheid. It will give them all a second chance for education and training. Third, education and training are sought to be integrated with each other in a seamless web, with multiple points of entry and exit. Education in school and training in out-of-school settings will both be valued and be given credit. Practical experience on the job will also be valued and will earn credit. Fourth, credits will be earned within a national system of qualifications preparing labor for participation in a truly national economy.

The role assigned to education in the strategy for reconstruction and development is central and fundamental. Education, though not the only one, is obviously the most important instrument of human resource development. The education sector should provide well-educated and well-trained, human resources both for itself and for all the other sectors of the economy, polity, society and culture. Yet, education in South Africa today is fragmented, unequal and undemocratic.

Structural distortions and disparities will have to be removed. More importantly, the near-defunct "culture of learning" will have to be restored within educational institutions.

The same sad story is repeated in the sector of training: segmentation of delivery, unequal access, indifferent quality, unfair employment practices, and oppressive labor relationships. The challenges for the policy maker and planner are again overwhelming.

In both cases of education and training historically induced disparities will be remedied through affirmative action in behalf of those who had been for so long excluded from the concerns and plans of the apartheid regime.

II. SUMMARY OF ISSUES AND TRANSITIONAL REFORM INITIATIVES

During the period of transition from Apartheid to the government of national unity in South Africa, several initiatives were taken by the government then in power. Most of these initiatives were seen as half measures, some others as misdirected, and all were resisted by the people as unilateralism on the part of the Apartheid government. The people as represented by the ANC wanted to exercise the right to plan a future for South Africa -- as free people governing themselves democratically.

In the meantime, the ANC had promoted, supported, and conducted an extensive policy debate on all the various issues of reconstruction and development and on the role of education in these processes. While most of these policies and plans have yet to meet the test of implementation and of the people's response, their assumptions, objectives and strategies can all be usefully discussed, and perhaps fine-tuned, at this point in time.

Policies, Management and Democratization of National, Regional and Institutional Structures and Processes

Ever since the fall of the Berlin Wall in the Spring of 1989, the winds of democracy have been blowing around all the continents of the world. In South Africa, the struggle for democracy preceded the symbolic event in Berlin by many decades. Democratization of the society had always been an article of faith with the ANC since its inception in 1912.

The democratization of power relationships among the peoples of various races and classes in South Africa is a persistent theme in South Africa's program of reconstruction and development. "Reconstruction and development," it is rightly

asserted, "require a population that is empowered through expanded rights, meaningful information and education, and an institutional network fostering representative, participatory and direct democracy (RDP, 48)."

Institutions and institutional networks are, of course, never neutral instruments. To foster representative, participative and direct democracy, institutions seeking to lead must themselves be systems of democratic patterns and procedures and be cultures of democratic values. Democratic values must pervade policy development and management of all institutions from the national through the provincial to the local institutional structures and processes.

The Democratization of the Educational System

In the context of education, the challenge of democratization has to be met on two fronts: democratization of educational institutions, and the democratization of groups and communities served by educational institutions.

Democratization of educational institutions. First and foremost, the composition of educational institutions, from the national ministry down through the provincial department, the university, the technikon, to further (secondary) education, the primary school and the educare group should, more and more, parallel the composition of South Africa itself.

Decentralization, with genuine devolution of authority, is an important part of democratization of institutions. The opening up of educational institutions, as an act of collaboration and accountability, to the communities at all the various levels -- national, provincial, district and the school or university -- is an other necessary aspect of democratization. Relevant stakeholders from outside of educational institutions, working through statutory councils and boards, must be able to participate meaningfully in agenda setting, policy decisions, in validating choices made by educational officials, and in evaluating institutional effectiveness and efficiency as well as the results of educational actions.

Educational institutions must also develop democratic patterns and procedures of work and create cultures of democratic values, wherein hierarchical levels are reduced, status distances are shortened, and where there is emphasis on explaining and informing rather than on order and compliance. In their relations with the people they serve, educational administrators should enable rather than enforce or dictate. Every official from the top to the bottom should understand the true meaning of civil service -- being a servant of the people.

Democratization of groups and communities served by educational institutions. For a true democratization of the education system, groups and communities being served by educational institutions must themselves accept the responsibilities of democracy, learn democratic patterns of reaching consensus and of planning action, and must internalize democratic values. Student governments, school governance committees in which students and community elite participate, student study groups, parent teacher associations, teachers unions or professional associations, community clubs for the youth to come to for clean wholesome fun are all part of the democratic processes. All these suggestions are, of course, linked to the important objective of reclaiming "a culture of learning" lost to the schools today.

The Challenges of Democratization

The challenges of democratization of the society or of the educational system would not be easily met. The historically reinforced relations between races built on superiority/ inferiority have been deeply internalized and the process of "acknowledgement-forgiveness-reconciliation", though not impossible, cannot be taken lightly. At the same time, the Black majority that is used to disobedience, non-cooperation, and violence to resist and survive Apartheid will have to unlearn old habits and learn the new ethics of cooperative actions as part of democratic living.

Under the Apartheid system, there were no structures, at least no strong structures, of governance at the provincial levels. The vacuum of power at the provincial levels offers both a challenge and an opportunity to develop structures that are democratic. But their emergence can not be taken for granted. The emergence of relationships between the center and provinces will have to be watched carefully so that there is neither over dependence of the provinces on the center nor an over-protection of the narrow interests of provinces from the total national community.

Finally, democratic decision-making and collaborative action will have to become a habit among the peoples in local communities all across the nation. The civil society, at all levels of the society, must be reconstructed.

General Education

As even a quick review of the UNESCO document, Education for All would demonstrate, the necessity of general basic education has now been universally recognized. Irrespective of the political ideology or economic strategy, all the nations of

the world have come out in favor of universalizing general education for all their children and their adults.

Again, nine years of general education has come to be the international norm, though some countries have been satisfied with 6 years because of financial constraints and South Africa talks of ten years -- nine years of general basic education plus one year of pre-primary education prefixed to it.

The South African General Education Plan

The corner stone of A Policy Framework for Education and Training is 9 years of compulsory education -- 10 years counting one reception year. The whole edifice of integrated education and training is built on and around this period of compulsory school education. This particular stage of formal education will be the site for enculturation and socialization of all children of school age who will here learn individual dignity, realize self-esteem, and reclaim the best of their cultural traditions. This will also be the site where all the basic skills will be learned for functioning in the technologically sophisticated economy, participating in the political processes of expanding democracy, and functioning in complex culture of print and electronic media.

Education Foundation and Triangle Research Institute estimated in 1992 that 1.7 million African children between the ages 6 and 17 may have been out of school. But then over 8 million African children were already enrolled in primary and secondary schools though the quality of their schooling was by no means always satisfactory. To expand schooling and to improve its quality is going to be a massive undertaking -- though not an impossible task -- involving school building, teacher training, curriculum development, with scientific content and vocationalization, multilingual textbook publishing and bringing children -- both boys and girls -- to school, both in rural and urban areas. Apart of finances and logistics, there will be the inevitable dialectic between quantity and quality.

Early Childhood Education

The understanding is emerging worldwide that the success of elementary education depends on the child's readiness to learn based on the mental, physical and emotional well being of child during the age 0-5. In societies where the social fabric is badly torn and the family is under great stress and strain, and where many children are being brought up by single mothers -- who are themselves illiterate, unemployed and hovering over the thin line between crime and poverty -- the need for early childhood education is paramount. Consequently, countries both rich and poor, from USA and Israel to Chile and Botswana have accepted the

desirability of early childhood education programs. It has not been possible, however, always to find the resources or to develop appropriate and flexible modes of delivery that will suit all children, in all the various social and class contexts.

Early Childhood Education in South Africa

The Early Childhood Education is an important initiative of the new democratic government of South Africa. The systems of labor development and deployment in effect under apartheid had led to the near destruction of the family resulting in patterns of living and working that were most detrimental to the physical and mental well being of the children. The ECE/Educare programs are meant to compensate for what the families are unable to provide. By using the strategy of a reception year at the end of four years of Educare, it is hoped to build a bridge to the next stage of education thereby obtaining greater educational returns from primary education in general.

Compulsory school education of nine years (10 years if one reception year is counted) will connect backward with early years of childhood by institutionalizing early childhood education (ECE) -- by building a strong educational component into Educare, and by using both private and public resources. In so doing, ECA will not only provide a "Head Start" to underprivileged children but also create some open space for the emancipation of women.

The issues of organizing a flexible but complex system of delivery that accommodates all children in varied programs such as full day care (center-based and home-based), part day service, family education that includes home visitation and parent child groups, and which then is delivered through networks of state, NGO's, trade unions, local communities and parents will require time and leadership for it to emerge. The task will be daunting even if 3 million such children are covered in the next 5 years as hoped, at an average cost of R1,500 per child per annum. The total number of such children in 1994 was estimated to be around 6 million.

Further Education

What is called "Further Education" in South African policy documents on education is really "secondary education" in common parlance. The label "Further Education" seems to have been chosen for its supposed neutrality in regard to the range of curriculum content it could include. The term further education is meant to accommodate the typical general secondary education content, technical and vocational education content as also learning through training for work that would earn credit for graduation. (Elsewhere, the label "tertiary education" has been preferred to "higher education" for the same set of reasons).

In the international context, irrespective of the label, the further stage of education of 3 to 4 years has been universally used to train a select group of the academically superior young people for tertiary education, both general and technical. Those not selected for colleges, institutes of technology or polytechnics (technikons) are tracked into technical schools to prepare them as technicians as some others exit into the outside world to take their chances in the economy.

The tensions between the general and the technical curriculum and the status and economic rewards connected with these two different streams remain to be resolved in most societies. The general stream of tertiary education seems to be preferred to the technical. Training in technical schools does not always lead to jobs. And those who enter the economy after the further education stage sometime find themselves unprepared to compete for jobs and feel abandoned by the system. Truly effective and fair solutions still elude us. Technical and vocational education continues to have low status in many societies, and strategies to interface vocational training with actual jobs in the economy have not always worked. Successes have been met where economies were expanding and where business and industry played a strong complementary role in training and placement in jobs.

In the South African Context

In South Africa, the 1+9 years of compulsory schooling will connect forward with further education, and tertiary education and with training experiences wherein participants both learn and earn. Thus, for most children, the completion of 1+9 years of compulsory education will be the "first exit" from the formal system of education to join the world of work in the rural or the urban economy, with the expectation of multiple future entries in and exits from the educational system. Some others will stay within the formal system by joining the second stage of three years of schooling called Further Education leading to a Further Education Certificate (FEC). Out of this later group some will join institutions of tertiary education -- colleges, technikons and universities.

While there could be a vocationalization of the curriculum during the years of compulsory education as well, the integration of education and training come to its own in the stage of Further Education -- after the 1+9 years of formal schooling. In the language of the Reconstruction and Development document (p. 30): "Further education must provide schooling, training and adult education as an integrated system. A balanced and flexible curriculum leading to the National Higher Certificate must be developed for all learners in a variety of learning contexts: students learning within formal institutions, workers in industry, out-of-school youth, and adults learning in community

learning centers. The curriculum must seek to open learning paths consistent with the goals of lifelong learning."

SAQA as the Formal Tool of Integration

The process of integration between education and training will, of course, be complex and multifaceted, requiring coordination and adjustment at many levels and at several points in planning, resource sharing, program and curriculum development, sequencing and modularization, agreements on equivalences among curricula, and preparation and validation of tools of assessment. The most important mechanism of integration, however, will be a statutory South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) that will formalize integration through accredition, certification and the maintenance of national standards within a National Qualification Framework (NQF).

Putting Functions into Forms

The basic forms of general education are thus clear, but these forms have first to be hammered out of the existing plethora of fifteen ministries of education and nineteen departments of education. Then, there is the challenge of making these newly fabricated forms to incorporate and perform appropriate functions. Education and training under apartheid had three key features. It was fragmented along racial lines, there were vast disparities between black and white provision and there was lack of democratic control of the system. All of these three negatives have to be neutralized, and a system has to be developed that can serve the educational and training needs of all the peoples of South Africa.

The agenda for action is obvious: massive expansion that responds to the disparities embedded in the social geography established by apartheid; reorganization of access so as to bring in additional children -- especially girls -- currently excluded from formal schooling; curriculum that is both modernized in content -- teaching needed knowledge and skills in science, technology and mathematics -- and democratized in values; sensitive differentiation of curriculum to meet the needs of special children and special groups; and training of teachers and other educators who can effectively deliver instruction -- sadly, in a broken-down culture of learning that is in urgent need of repair.

Training -- The Other Partner in Integration

Many of the conditions described in regard to general education above are also applicable to the training sector. The training sector is fragmented as well: the National Training Board with 24 members, nine autonomous training centers with 62

satellite campuses and 65 mobile centers, 1417 private and employer supported training centers, 26 industry training boards -- but no outside control, no portability, no recognition outside the context of delivery. South African industry spends 1% of employment costs on training which yet adds up to 5 billion rand annually. Little of this goes to the training of workers on the floor or under the ground in the mining sector. Thirty per cent of the workforce remains completely illiterate and education and skills levels of millions more is in need of upgrading.

The Pitfalls

There are several pitfalls in the way of implementing these plans. The curricular challenge is absolutely formidable. The balance between tradition and modernity, the symbiosis of modernization and democratization, and reconciling the general with the vocational in curriculum and curriculum materials may end up in superficial solutions. Coordination of education and training in the real world may crash under the weight of its own management. Modularization may atomize educational experiences of learners and deny them the necessary socialization as workers and citizens. Emphasis on outcomes may drive out that necessary and important part of learning which is not easily committed to the language of outcomes. Demands for accredition of prior experience may be driven by needs for a piece of paper for use in the rat race rather than by authentic needs for recognition of acquired skills. Preoccupation with accredition, certification and standardization may become excessive and may result in the neglect of the emergent, and the innovative educational objective and experience. Portability and transferability of experiences may turn out to be a false hope unless the formal economy expands and the labor market is restructured to create many more high-skill jobs, and unless the employers have a change of heart and do indeed engage in fair employment practices.

Tertiary Education

While elementary basic education of children and adults is the essential instrument of democratization of societies, tertiary education (or higher education) -- general, technical and professional -- is the essential instrument of modernization of economies and societies today. Globally, a correlation between higher education and economic development has emerged: enrolment ratios in higher education in the OECD countries are 51 percent as compared with 21 percent in middle-income countries and 6 per cent in low-income countries of the world. It is higher education that must train the technicians and engineers, nurses and medical doctors, electricians, telecommunication engineers and computer scientists, clerks, accountants, lawyers and managers, and indeed most of the governing and leading elite needed by modern societies. Most importantly, higher education

must train teachers, trainers, educators, professors and researchers for the whole of the education system itself.

Structural Inequities of Higher Education in South Africa

A color-blind look at higher education in South Africa can engender a feeling of false satisfaction. The tertiary system of education in South Africa is indeed large relative to other states in Sub-Saharan Africa with 21 universities, 15 technikons, 137 technical colleges, and 101 colleges of education. South African universities located in the urban centers such as Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town have wonderful campuses, and more than adequate laboratories, libraries and other instructional, developmental and research facilities. Some of their faculties are accorded considerable respect by colleagues in universities around the world. There has been an impressive growth in university enrollments in South Africa in recent years -- from 318,533 in 1986 to 490,112 in 1993. Thus, South Africa does have a sizeable cohort of university trained people in the society, larger perhaps than any other Sub-Saharan African country.

"Figures available for 1990 indicate the following enrollments: 67.200 students in teacher training colleges; 73.000 in technical colleges, 84.400 in Technicons and 302.000 in universities. Thus post-secondary education in South Africa represents the highest enrolment rate for the whole African continent. In fact, tertiary education in South Africa represents well over 50% of the total higher education enrollments in Sub-Saharan Africa (Power, 18)."

On closer examination, however, one discovers extreme structural distortions creating inequalities of access, instruction and results based in race and gender. An analysis reveals that 89% of those holding bachelors degrees in South Africa are white; a minute number of African students gain entry to science and technology programs (only 18% of those in technicons in 1990 were black); and the inequalities in regard to resources and, therefore, in results between historically white and historically black universities are enormous.

The democratic government recognizes the complexity of the problems of higher education and plans to name a commission on higher education to look into the matter. In the meantime, some of the direction for action are quite clear:

1. The government should not lose sight of the fact that socio-economic development today is increasingly knowledge intensive and is dependent on professional, technical and managerial skills which can be obtained only through advanced training in universities. The government must, therefore,

continue to accept the responsibility for the provision of higher education to the college-bound.

2. It may not be possible or even necessary for the democratic government of South Africa to open more new universities but it may be necessary to make better use of available university facilities, to increase access of blacks and women among the university-bound, and to encourage enrollments in technical and scientific faculties through various incentives.

3. During the next few years, remedial instruction for black and women students admitted to university programs should be made both widely available and effective to enable these students to survive in the university setting;

4. There should be provision of monetary support to black students to make it financially possible for them to stay in school until graduation.

5. There should be extensive Twinning of historically black universities with universities in United Kingdom, America, and Canada and in other English speaking countries in Africa and Asia.

6. South African universities should expand their capacities and outreach through inter-institutional cooperation and through open and distance education alternatives.

7. Brain drain from South African universities should be stopped by providing appropriate incentives -- material and intangible -- both to the black and white professorate and researchers.

8. The expectation of work after a university degree should be changed from the typical expectation of a job with a paycheck. New concepts of work should be invented. University graduates should create jobs rather than merely fill them.

For the preceding recommendations to have a chance, the trend of decreasing resource allocations to higher education will have to be arrested or even reversed.

Adult Basic Education in the Context of Lifelong Education

The framework of education and training envisaged for South Africa is co-extensive with life -- starting with early childhood education and, through basic education, further education, tertiary education and a variety of integrated training programs, reaching the elderly to meet their needs of

education and leisure. Adult basic education is an important component of the overall frame of lifelong education.

Adult Basic Education as a Progressive Initiative

It has been rightly asserted that adult education (including adult literacy) programs are inherently progressive since these programs bring education to those bypassed by the formal school systems -- bringing to those disadvantaged men and women developmental knowledge important for improving their lives; and teaching them skills to acquire more information and education, independently, on their own. Conversely, the neglect of adult education and adult literacy programs in a society can tell a lot about the political culture of a society and of power relations within that society. The apartheid state in South Africa, for example, during the last few years of its life was spending as little as 1% of its educational budget on adult education and no more than 100,000 adults may have been covered annually through the state adult schools.

Ideology and theory have come together in the thinking of the new leaders of South Africa as they promise to bring more than 15 million non-literate or semi-literate men and women within the nations's political economy and inside South African society. This large population is to be given a "second chance" for education within the new South Africa to prepare them for participation in the economy and in the politics of the country -- already Africa's strongest industrial economy and already a vibrant culture of print wherein to be nonliterate or semi-literate is to be greatly disadvantaged. The democratic government plans to "hastening slowly" as they seek to cover some 3 million adult men and women in the next five years.

Under the democratic government, adult education in South Africa has been metamorphosized into adult basic education (ABE) -- a second chance, for adult men and women bypassed by the apartheid systems of formal education, to acquire the equivalent of what is now defined as the stage of compulsory schooling. ABE, of course, is not compulsory for all adults. It is voluntary. Again, there is no expectation that all those who join must continue to the end of the total ABE curriculum. The idea is to provide all adults with the full length of the ladder of opportunity and let them choose as to how far they want to go on the rungs of the ladder. Thus ABE as conceptualized is a framework of educational possibilities for those willing to persevere, but its usefulness in practice will depend on how the future learners respond.

The Structure and Content of ABE

The 4-level, modularized scheme of ABE as conceptualized in togetherness by COSATU and the ANC is meant to be integrated,

level by level, with the formal system of education on the one hand and with the existing and emerging training systems in the country on the other. Consequently, there is great pre-occupation with equivalences, certifications and system of qualifications and accreditions.

The curriculum is meant to be "built around key outcomes, comprise of core and optional elements and emphasize broad subject areas such as language and communications, numeracy, social and development studies, and science and technology." Necessary skills will include "cognitive, learning, analytical, organizational, planning, administrative, technical, financial, scientific, leadership and participation" skills.

The total curriculum content will be divided into modules and these modules will be written to be competency based. Each of the four levels would consist of a combination of core (generic) modules and specialized modules. The subject matter of core modules will, predictably, include: languages or communication skills, numeracy, social studies, science and technology, life skills and development studies. Special learning needs of particular groups and constituencies will be met through specialized modules which as sets of modules will be equivalent across specializations.

To exit at the end of Level 1, with a certificate, a learner would have successfully completed all the modules that comprise Level 1. However, if certificates are not a consideration, learners would be able to break out of the framework of Levels. Assessment will be by module; and learners will be permitted to choose modules across level, without first having had to complete all of the modules at a particular Level. Certificates for ABE levels and school grades will be equivalent as shown above and will be conferred by the same one public qualification authority, SAQA.

It should be noted that there is no discussion in the ABE section of adult literacy or post-literacy. This is not an omission. The first level of the ABE framework is in fact a stage of functional literacy wherein literacy and numeracy are learned in combination with functional skills chosen by the learner. There is also no post-literacy stage or curriculum, for what is typically taught in post-literacy classes around the world, is here woven into the fabric of the four levels of the ABE frame.

The Meta Message of the ABE Structure and Other Pitfalls

Even though, enrollment in ABE will be voluntary, the learner will have the freedom to exit at any level, and in fact the learner would have complete freedom of choice among modules at and across various levels, yet the meta message of the ABE

multilevel structure is that of formalism. The ABE scheme comes across as a highly rationalized, hierarchically-graded system that is terribly biased towards urban industrial labor already employed in industries and mines. The scheme does not seem to have included in its set of assumptions the learning needs of the unemployed or of the rural people living in the informal and subsistence economies.

To implement such an ABE system in practice would also require an extensive infrastructure of interconnected electronic systems, with computer terminals at almost each and every education and training site. It will also require hundreds of specialists not merely in curriculum development but in instructional development who can do a satisfactory job of writing modules organized horizontally and vertically, and based in appropriate research in languages, in conceptual maps and concept loads. A large cohort of evaluation and assessment specialists will also be needed.

Opening Up, Reaching Out:
A Mass Literacy Campaign

To ensure that the ABE framework is not seen merely as an instrument for a second chance at compulsory schooling or only as formal training for the already employed, there should be a popular "opening up" of the ABE framework. This could be done by offering level 1 content of the ABE framework to all of the 15 million illiterate and semi-literate in the mode of a mass literacy campaign -- as an invitation to the nation to enter the print culture. The democratic government should campaign for literacy and give an invitation to the world of print to nearly every individual adult man and woman in the nation. However, literacy classes should be opened only in communities that want them, ask for them, and who do all the necessary community organization work required to operate a literacy group. In this way, the democratic government would not be undertaking an impossible task of running a mass literacy campaign for all the 15 million; would be assured of "success" of the program because mobilization-motivation would have been assured as the people themselves would have done the organization at the field level; and, in the process, would have mobilized the nation for various other initiatives and actions in reconstruction and development to follow in the immediate future.

Outreach, at a Distance

ABE and distance education would be natural partners at the middle and higher levels of the ABE as now conceptualized. At the first level of ABE, it would be better to present content in face-to-face situations. But a large part of training could be delivered to facilitators at a distance, after a short first personal contact. A much greater use could be made of distance

education for delivering content of education and training at levels 2, 3 and 4 of the ABE frame.

Important organizational mechanisms for the delivery of distance education already exist in South Africa in UNISA, TECHNISA, TECHNICON SA, and PenTech (Cape). The most recent one to come on stream is the Alternative Secondary Education for Students (ASECA) organized by SACHED to provide skills for the so-called "Lost Generation." It will be a matter of inter-institutional cooperation, networking and resource sharing.

Coordination and Partnership Mechanisms

Participatory planning, institutional collaboration, networking, and resource sharing have indeed become the current coins of the discourse of reconstruction and development every where in the world. The political ideology of the new democratic government of South Africa demands, in particular, that the themes of participation and collaboration become a practical reality within the structures of the state as well within the organizations of the civil society.

Collaborations Between the State and the NGO's

In the historical realities of apartheid South Africa, innovative work in education and development in peoples' interest was possible to be undertaken only by NGO's led by white liberals sympathetic to the social and political aspirations of blacks, and such work was typically funded by philanthropic foundations from abroad. While program coverage by these NGO's may have been small, their experiences in a professional sense have been both rich and varied. It will be unforgivable not to tap into these rich resources of professional and organizational experience as the state undertakes a massive program of reconstruction and development in the service of all the people.

It will be important, however, to establish a set of reasonable mutual expectations in regard to the collaborations between the state and the NGO's -- neither under-estimating, nor over-estimating the NGO role or capacities. No NGO or a coalition of NGO's can ever substitute for the role of the state in any program of reconstruction and development. Their role will always and everywhere remain supplementary or complementary.

In most parts of the Third World, and in India particularly, NGO's deliver services to places and people that the government can not reach, and they do so relatively cheaply. This may not be necessarily true in South Africa. As a historical reality, NGO's in South Africa have drawn funding from hard currency areas abroad and have been led by white liberals who were maintaining relatively high standards of living for

themselves. The professional resources of NGO's in South Africa may not, therefore, be available cheaply -- especially, if outside funding for these NGO's dries up and the state has to provide funding support for their continuation.

III. THE WAY FORWARD

National aspirations of South Africa as expressed in the Reconstruction and Development documentation and in A Policy Framework for Education and Training, international experiences in the area of education and training, and the conceptual frame established in this policy paper for policy analysis and design, all compel that the tasks ahead for South Africa in the area of education and training should be seen as follows:

1. Building new institutions, renovation of existing institutions including organizational redesign and organizational development, and networking of institutions.

2. Continuation of the organs and functions of policy analysis, policy formulation, and policy research currently in place.

3. Strengthening and expansion, with quality assurance, of the existing infrastructures of educare, primary, secondary and tertiary education.

4. Self-conscious, direct and systematic action in regard to planned changes in the superstructures of values -- racial, cultural, political, economic and social -- now embedded within institutions of governance and service delivery.

5. Undertaking, innovative projects of education and training that will mobilize the people and bring hope and dynamism to the economy, polity and society in South Africa in the immediate run.

Capacity Building at National, Provincial, and Local Levels

By far the most immediate and the most important challenge facing South African education and training today is the challenge of institution building, capacity building, and organizational development -- to renovate the social architecture of all institutions, old and new.

Four statements should be made at the outset that inform the proposals made in this section:

1. The sector of education and training is unique in the sense that institutions of education and training should not only

develop human resources for itself but also for all of the other sectors -- science, technology, construction, health, agriculture, business, media, social work, and others. Therefore, a list of institutions to be built for meeting the needs of reconstruction and development of a new South Africa, has to be wide-scope, covering the human resource development needs of all the sectors listed above.

2. Because of the realities that are historical, geopolitical and economic, institution building in South Africa should be undertaken with an eye on the needs of all of the Southern African countries. Institution building requires large-scale resources and there is no need for each of the countries in the region to undertake similar projects of institutions building which may first need massive resources to build and may later be under-utilized.

3. Institution building, that is, organizational design and redesign should be attended to in both its technical and social aspects. Organizational change obviously involves more than task analysis, role analysis, and design of organigrams with particular patterns of hierarchy, communication, decision making and accountability. It also has a social aspect. Those who come into organizations as role incumbents, must not only be technically qualified but should also be socially adept to be able to work together: become cohesive social groups who can interact and work in a climate of mutual trust, and mutual assistance. This is particularly important at this point in the history of South Africa wherein the mostly white officials of the old bureaucracy that served the interests of apartheid are joined by the new, mostly black, "novices" in administration, to work on new tasks of building a democratic South Africa -- at the same time dealing with their feelings, and coming to terms with their past history and with the imperatives of the future.

4. In institution building in South Africa, the "turn-key model" of institution building should be rejected in favor of a "process" model. In each case, a team comprised of national and international professionals should be brought together and asked to train a required number of human resources (e.g.: adult educators, building overseers, primary health care workers, low-cost housing specialists, specialists in labor intensive technologies, etc.) during a predetermined time period in the context of a temporary organizational system. On the basis of this experience, the temporary system of human resource development in a particular area should then be formalized into an institutional arrangement that can continue to undertake the training work on a regular basis and at the same time can develop its own organizational identity and resources on a continuing basis.

Functional Unification of Multiple Administrative Organs

The current fragmentation of the institutions of schooling demands integration. Posting of personnel, rationalization of salary scales and writing of new codes will require detailed attention. Work has already begun on these important tasks. The ministry in the making may find it useful to obtain help from a school of public administration or from a team of officials in a ministry of education in another country with British historical connections. Help may be available next door from Zambia or Zimbabwe. India is another obvious and rich resource for such training.

Centralization of National Vision, with Devolution of Authority to Regional and Local Levels

The national ministry of education and training must "lead" from the center, but must not centralize control. It should only perform enabling and coordinating functions. Regional departments and local agencies should serve as functional departments in a national unified system. Since many regional offices and local educational authorities will be new to this responsibility, these organs will also need capacitation and organization development for effective functioning.

Developing a Coalition of Organizations in the Civil Society to Serve as Watchdog for the State's Bureaucracy

Democratization is a persistent theme in the pronouncements of the democratic government of South Africa. To democratize the educational and training system, a coalition of the organizations in the civil society must emerge and it should establish groups at all the various levels of the society to serve as watchdogs for the State bureaucracy of education and training. Such a group can also be responsible for self-help projects in education and training as was done within the Harambe movement in Kenya.

Capacity Required within Educational Organizations

One must begin by building institutions and organizations by design or by objective to be able to do what needs to be done in the short and medium term. Existing institutions must be renovated and new ones must be built from scratch.

The nature of the new developmental tasks expected from South Africa's institutions means new organizational missions, that are dramatically different from the old ones -- of law and order to be imposed on the black majority. These new

organizational tasks will require new technologies and new skills, higher and higher knowledge capital and new value choices. While most of the holdovers from the old regime are both competent and experienced, they would yet need to learn new capacities and skills. The new entrants into the fast expanding bureaucracy will have to be given effective orientation and training. Both management and technical capacity will require to be strengthened.

The immediate capacity building tasks for officials in the ministry and the regions should be handled within a series of workshops, using a multiplier model, and should include:

-- planning, networking and budgeting
-- design of internal evaluation and management information systems
-- curriculum development
-- materials production,
-- Teacher and student orientation.

Organizational Development (OD) to Renovate the Social Architecture of Institutions

Formal redesign and capacity building of the educational institutions must be accompanied by organization development (OD) understood as the strategy of dealing with the human and social architecture of institutions. This is particularly important in South Africa where role performers, old and new, must learn to deal with feelings bequeathed by history and where the old and new organizational actors must both be resocialized for the new life within organizations.

New Institutional Forms: A National ABE System

Some 15 million South Africans are estimated to have been bypassed or ill-served by the formal education system. According to the National Manpower Commission (NMC) estimates, in 1991 some 51% of South Africa's economically active population had a level of education below standard 7. The proportion of Africans in this category was 69%.

The new Government of National Unity plans to establish a nation-wide system of Adult Basic Education (ABE) that would be integrated on the one hand with formal education and on the other hand with training giving the nation with one unified system of nationally recognized qualification system. Certification of skills will be conducted by the same one qualification authority. Employers would be expected to carry the major responsibility for delivering ABE. Employers are currently spending 2% of the total staff costs on training, when they should spend as much as 5%. Education of the unemployed will be the government's responsibility.

The following points should be made in regard to the organization of ABE:

1. The overriding organizational principle should be to coordinate not control, to enable not order.

2. In the process of unification and rationalization of programs of education and training under ABE, no educational or training initiative already in existence should be halted. What seems unacceptable should be both challenged and enabled to improve through resource sharing and norm setting.

3. A mass-based organization should be established as a mechanism of people's participation. At each level, from the center to the locality, representatives of the state and of the civil society must sit together to plan, implement, and evaluate ABE programs.

4. Educational leadership at the center and the provinces should, from time to time, lead national and regional campaigns for mobilization of learners and teacher around such themes as functional literacy, counting and accounting, family health, the best of traditional cultures, etc.

5. Plans should be made under which, ultimately, there is a Community Learning Center in each and every community in South Africa and which comes to be seen as the single center for convergence for every one in the community to come to discuss, to plan, to share, to learn, to sing, and to play.

Networking Within and Across Governmental Agencies; and Relating with NGO's

While institutional boundaries must be determined by specialization and sub-specialization, work in the real-world demands institutional cooperations and collaborations and hence institutional networks. The new Ministry of Education and Training, for example, will have to network with other departments of the government such as agriculture, health, labor, and social work, as well as with institutions of culture and communication.

The new ministry should also link effectively with NGO's. In the history of South Africa, the role of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) is of particular importance. In the political framework of apartheid, the government did not favor the formation of community groups by the black people to serve other black people. In the circumstances, NGO's established by white people sympathetic with the aspirations of blacks provided most of the services. The role of these NGO's should, of course, be supported and expanded. Black communities, large and small, should be encouraged and assisted in establishing voluntary self-

help organizations of various kinds that can later grow into regional and even national NGO's.

Some of the costs of sustaining NGO's, both old and new, may have to be taken over by the government. The foreign donors who had been supporting almost all of these NGO's are already talking of withdrawing support. Most of the communities in South Africa will be unable to generate sizeable local funds in the near future to support NGO's. In the meantime, the state will have to support the NGO sector to keep it alive.

National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration

To fulfil the needs of high level planning and educational administration staff in South Africa and to assist in meeting such needs in the region, a National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration (NIEPA) should be established. This institute should be modelled after NIEPA -- a similar institution in India and where many planners and administrators from the education ministries of African states have indeed already been trained over the years. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

A KEDI Style Institution

South Korea's KEDI that does research and instructional development work of direct interest to the education ministry in South Korea is an institutional arrangement in which local South African educators have shown some interest. This is again an institution that once established can provide important educational services to South Africa and to other countries in the region. With the emphasis on the development of instructional modules within both educational and training programs and with the need for systematic instructional research, development, utilization and evaluation for the preparation of such modules, a KEDI style institution in South Africa would serve important purposes. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

National Center for Curriculum and Instructional Development

Easily the most important educational aspect of Reconstruction and Development in South Africa today is curriculum development. The new social, political and economic order demands new knowledge, skills and attitudes to be taught to the new generations of learners -- children, youth and adults, men and women, boys and girls -- and all of this knowledge must ultimately be framed in a curriculum development scheme and

embedded in instructional materials and media. Establishment of centers or institutes for curriculum development is already envisaged by education policy makers and planners in South Africa. It may be useful to consider placing such center(s) outside the ministry to give them greater freedom in the discharge of their responsibility. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

General Capacitation of NGO's in SA

Many of the trained people in existing NGO's in South Africa will have been attracted to work for the democratic Government and will have moved there after the elections. Some of the NGO's may already be experiencing a crisis of leadership. On the other hand, the organs of the civil society must become more dynamic and must expand their involvement in the service of the people. In the circumstances, the tasks for policy makers and planners are clear. This means developing new NGO's and giving all NGO's, old and new, professional capacities to plan, administer, train and deliver services to peoples. In Namibia a USAID/ World Education project is already engaged in a similar task of building the general capacity of NGO's.

Institute of Management

While the establishment of NIEPA suggested above when operational should fulfill the management needs of the education sector, the education sector must (in consultation with and support of the business community) establish an Institute of Management for South (and Southern) Africa. Models worthy of emulation exist in both Africa and Asia. The need is urgent. The number of black managers and supervisors needed by South Africa have been estimated at 200,000 in the immediate future. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

South African Institute of Technology

The establishment of a South African Institute of Technology would be another institution of great promise for South Africa. The most important task for the Institute during its early months and years should be R&D work on labor intensive technologies to be used in building assets under the public works employment programs. Such an institute should also become an organ of Science and Technology policy for the country. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

School of Architecture

With the expectation of building millions of low-cost houses and at least 132,000 classrooms by the year 2002 in the implementation of one plus nine years of compulsory schooling, the need for a school of architecture seems obvious. Such a school should emphasize low cost housing -- using perhaps recyclable and bio-degradable materials. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

Institute of Engineering and Overseers

With all the houses and schools and public building to be constructed, the country can not afford not to have a college/institute for engineers and particularly technicians for on site inspection of construction work. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

Agricultural University

South Africa has a sizeable agricultural industry but most of its agriculture is estate agriculture. An agricultural university should be developed that is dedicated to subsistence and small farm agriculture and which has a strong and vibrant program for the training of agricultural extension workers. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

Training Institute for Primary Health Care Workers at the Intermediate and Field Work Level

To ensure health for all in South Africa as promised by Reconstruction and Development program, thousands of primary health care workers will have to be trained to work in the villages and townships. These are the people who will be able to go to the people in the communities and bring to them the much needed knowledge on personal hygiene and sanitation, pre-natal and post-natal care, child care, family nutrition, family planning, and about sexually transmitted diseases. (Refer to the introduction to this section for the "process model" suggested for use in its establishment.")

A Local Institution: Community Learning Centers

In reconstruction and development, we have been often warned about avoiding the "edifice complex", that is, the tendency of building brick and stone structures which consume considerable capital resources but which one can show off and boast about; and have been asked instead to pay attention to

programs that though intangible and invisible, involve acts of idealism and activism in behalf of the people.

If a choice has to be made between programs and buildings, we should, of course, choose programs that touch people's lives. But when and if resources are available, we should build Community Development Centers in every community which can then serve as the single point of convergence for the community for all it community learning, discussion and action.

Linking Jomtein EFA Principles to the Ten Year Compulsory Education

The essence of the international experiences in general basic education is best reflected in UNESCO's Education for All, a set of three monographs resulting from presentations and discussions at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in Jomtein, Thailand, March 1990. The principles enunciated at the WCEFA and as now presented in the UNESCO publication have an astonishing universality though appropriate adaptation to the historical, political and cultural contexts will of course be necessary.

The expanded vision. First and foremost, these documents suggest that basic education be sensitive to the culture of the people -- upholding the best in the cultural tradition, renewing what needs renewal in the tradition, while incorporating the obviously necessary from our common human heritage of modern technology. EFA principles then ask for an expanded view of education that includes formal education for school children, and nonformal education for adults, with literacy at the core of programs for adults.

Basic education is accepted as a Human Right, but its instrumental value in promoting economic and social development is kept in the right perspective and is considered highly important. Basic education, it is suggested should pay special attention to the educational needs of girls and women. The content of education should, of course, include the 3-R's, but it should also include science and technology literacy, environment education, population education, and preventive health care. Basic education must include education in attitudes and values of both culturally unique and universalistic content. Lastly, it should include learning to learn.

The planning perspective. Planners should consider basic education central to all development and not sectoral -- that is not merely as one sector among many operative in the overall development process. The modes of delivery should include formal education, nonformal education for youth and adults, and education delivered at a distance (or distance education). The

planners should redress three lacks in the delivery of basic education: lack of access, lack of relevance or effectiveness, and lack of motivation and incentives. This would mean paying attention to universalization of access and promoting equity, focus on learning, broadening means and scope of basic education, enhancing the environment of learning and strengthening partnerships among stakeholders in education.

Education must show gender sensitivities, and consideration for children who need both nutrition and health care. Teachers, textbooks and methods should reflect the new conceptions of basic education. Decision making should be participative so that communities and all other stakeholders can be empowered and can then claim ownership of the programs in their communities.

Resource development: the economic perspective. Growth in the delivery of education should be accompanied with equity. It is time that planners of basic education pay special attention to resource development both from state and private sources. This would mean donor support from abroad and supportive policy context at home to be able to receive a fair share of resources. Technology, both hard and soft should be used with effectiveness, and educational management with judiciousness. School facilities, teachers, textbooks should all be put to maximum and efficient use. Learning outcomes should be emphasized and systematically assessed to develop usable management information systems. NGO's and other organs of the civil society should be empowered through participation and collaboration in decision making and then mobilized to play their part in the delivery of basic education.

Strengthening Policy Research, Analysis, and Development Functions

The tasks of social analysis, agenda setting, policy development, and planning for implementation will not become suddenly unnecessary, once the new government of national unity assumes power and takes control. In fact, policy makers' tasks will never be fully done. The processes of policy analysis and policy formulation will have to continue, and rolling plans will continued to be under constant examination.

Use NECC as a National Board. The remnants of the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) and the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) should together be reconstituted as the new National Education and Training Co-ordinating Council (NETCC). Several specialized sub-committees or subordinate councils of NETCC may be constituted as appropriate.

Center for Education Policy Development. The existing Center for Education Policy Development (CEPD) should continue to perform the policy research, policy analysis and policy formulation functions that it has performed so well since its inception. An Educational Statistics Unit should be added to the CEPD, unless the function of collecting and collating educational statistics is already being undertaken by some agency of the government. In regard to CEPD-Ministry administrative relationships, a proper balance should be struck in regard to CEPD's functional integration with the policy development and planning needs of the new ministry of education and training, and the needs of professional and academic independence of the center.

Commission/Committee of Languages. A commission or a high powered committee on languages should be established as already proposed. The experience of language policy development in other African countries as well as in India should be studied. The CEPD could serve as the secretariat for this commission or committee.

Committee on the Vocationalization of School Curriculum. A high powered committee should be named to study the problem of the vocationalization of school curriculum and how general and/or vocationalized curricula should interface with the training system in the country. The CEPD could serve as the secretariat for this committee.

Commission/Committee on Higher Education. As already envisaged, South Africa should establish a commission on higher education to collect data and testimony on the problems of higher education and to suggest probable solution for such problems. Terms of reference for such a commission should assume a Southern African stance so that the system of higher education in South African can fulfil the needs for highly trained staff in all of the neighboring states. Once again the CEPD should serve as the secretariat for the commission on higher education. Having CEPD to serve as the secretariat for all committees and commissions on education and training will ensure that CEPD will become the repository of information and of institutional memory in regard to these important national initiatives in education.

Commission for the Rationalization of Enrollments and Expenditures on Formal Education

Consolidation, renewal, expansion with quality assurance are needed in all of the sectors of education without exception. The challenge in formal schooling is to increase coverage, accommodate homelands, decrease pupil/teacher ratios, improve quality, and increase pass rates. Increases required are all massive in size and scope. In 1992/93 there was already an increase in enrollments of 11%. Total African enrolment increase

including homelands was 21%. For the next few years the increases may be 15-25% annually.

Black versus white disparities in allocations of funds are wide. As recently as 1992/93, a black student received an allocation of R 1248 for every white receiving R 4448, giving a b/w expenditure ratio of 1:3.5. Equalization of expenditures at white levels will consume 50% of the entire state budget in the year 2000. Equalizing at R 1200 at primary level and at R 1720 at high school level would be possible at 4% increase in real terms until 2000. It seems that expenditures on education may have to be increase for several years into the future, even after empty spaces in white schools have been used. In 1992/93, there were 47286 places vacant in white primary school; 82046 places vacant in white secondary schools.

It is impossible to make any useful suggestions in this regard at this point. Perhaps a Commission for the Rationalization of Enrollments and Expenditures on Formal Education is called for.

Renewal and Qualitative Improvement of Educational Content

National Curriculum, Regional Programs, and Institutional Level Procedures

Ideologies, policies and plans ultimately have to be actualized in the curriculum that is taught and learned in the classrooms. School curricula every where in the world have expanded to include the new learning needs of today's societies. Global concerns such as tolerance, environment, pollution, preventive health care, family planning, economic skills, and political socialization have all been included in the school curricula around the world. Too often expanding the curriculum has lead to its over-loading. There are not enough hours in the school day to teach all of the curriculum equally well. Teachers are not adequately trained to teach these new contents. There is paucity of appropriate instructional materials. What will not be on the test is neglected by both teachers and students.

The problem of differentiation of curriculum to suit the special needs of various learner groups in a society is also universal. While a national core curriculum does make sense for all of a nation's children to have a shared experience, there is also the equally important need to differentiate the curriculum as it filters through the various levels from the national to the provincial to the local. Perfect solutions have evaded us here again. Allocations of percentages of curriculum content to decision makers at the national, provincial and local levels has not always made sense. The new school system of new South Africa

seeks to have a national curriculum both in formal general education and in ABE and is sure to come face to face with these same challenges that have had to be met by curriculum developers around the world.

Curriculum work in South Africa has proceeded along three key dimensions: (i) implementation of plans for institutes of curriculum development at national and provincial levels; (ii) the management of the transition involving review of syllabi and assessment procedures; and (iii) work on on-going curriculum development in general education as well as ABE while sorting our implications for teacher training, languages, and textbooks. Media education and training in educational technology have been given due attention. In the larger context of lifelong learning, access to information has been called a human right as the Reconstruction and Development document has called for an information policy which guarantees free flow of accurate and comprehensive information and active exchange of information and opinion among all members of society. These inspiring missions and worthy plans are not going to be easy to actualize and implement.

An Important Curriculum Challenge:
New Values for New Society

Much too often governments reject the idea of advocating new values underpinning structures of the society and the economy for the fear of being accused of indoctrination. It is an error, however, to leave the most important task of resocialization of adults in new values to some spontaneous, self-generating processes. The task of suffusing old and new institutions with new values should be undertaken self-consciously, directly, and honestly.

A process of deconstructing and reconstructing must be undertaken. Something must be done self-consciously and systematically for subverting the old superstructure of values and supporting the emergence of the new one. The same applies to the educational subculture. The old values within the educational subculture that condemned most of the population to inferiority must be rejected and a new set of values of individual worth, mutuality and democracy must be assiduously nursed and nurtured.

It is absolutely important to give the nation a new spirit and a new superstructure of values in place of that built by the apartheid regime. South African youth and adults, both men and women, and of all ethnic origins, should be challenged to show the content and strength of their character to a world that is watching. Part of this challenge may be to teach the people a new concept development rooted in indigenous values and not necessarily an imitation of Western development of higher and

higher levels of consumption. Questions such as these may be asked and answered: What is good life in the context of South Africa in the mid-1990s? Will South Africa play a catch-up game for some with peoples in other shores or will it seek to bring satisfaction of basic needs to all the people? What expectations are reasonable to have for the development in the year 2000, 2010, and by the middle of the Twenty-First Century?

In another context, education in the new superstructure of values should help sustain and develop solidarity among all ethnic groups, should preach and teach the principles of politics in peoples' behalf, and thereby provide a frame for the integration of the Right Wing, the Inkatha and all the ten homelands of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa, Transkei, and Venda into the one national mainstream. The new superstructure should be translated into a practical ideology, giving the common peoples from the old to the young, ideas and values they can act upon. What should they say to each other at home, at work, at church? What should they do with and to each other?

Some Additional Innovative Projects

The ultimate objective of Reconstruction and Development in South Africa is to bring prosperity and peace to the nation. For this there has to be economic and social revitalization of both the rural and urban areas and there has to be solidarity among the people that rises above the categories of race, ethnicity, religion, gender and social class. Prior action has to be taken in behalf of children, women, and youth -- the so-called lost generation.

To achieve the above, the following projects and programs are suggested that we hope can serve as nodal points for the development of prosperity and peace:

Future History Project

This is a project of obvious ideological content. The purpose is to help all concerned to come to terms with their past histories in South Africa and self-consciously forge a new collective history for the future.

We take the position that the essential ideological task for all the people, black and white, in South Africa today is the negation of apartheid and affirmation of racially integrated, democratic, and just society. This position once accepted compels that all the people of South Africa should have the opportunity to come to terms with their separate historical experiences during the last 350 years and in so doing inherit a collectively constructed and validated history. Then they should

take the next step of looking to the future and consciously design their collective destiny and shared history.

The society should be assisted in this task by a commission of historians representing all the various historiographies in South Africa: the Boer historiography, the liberal historiography, and the neo-Marxist, or radical historiography. A few historians should be appointed to the commission by UNESCO. Acting in behalf of all the various peoples, these historians should together weld the many histories of South Africa into one to write a collective history of South Africa. The task should be completed with peoples' participation, and under the constant gaze of the people, thus providing a social validation for the historic task being performed.

If properly handled, this project in its very implementation should provide the nation with an opportunity for reconciliation and at the same time should produce historical materials that can then be used as a basis for social studies curricula in schools and adult basic education while it also serves as a spring board for academic research and discussion in institutions of higher education.

A Nation at Work Project

The content of this particular project is also ideological. The objective would be to create a national ethos wherein work is not equated with a job -- a salaried job with a paycheck, at the end of the week or the month. Work has to be seen as all encompassing -- to include any and all activities that produce, save, or transform to add value.

The argument will have to be made, and widely disseminated, that for a long time in South Africa, people will have to be both employed -- in businesses, farms, and factories -- and self-employed -- providing products and services to each other in the formal or informal economy. Indeed, the nation's success with one plus nine years of compulsory education could cause problems if all school leavers wanted salaried jobs at the end of nine years of schooling. It is in this spirit that the vocationalization of the total primary school experience will have to be undertaken. This vocationalized curriculum should be the only curriculum available, and not a vocational stream for those not academically inclined. Everyone coming out of the compulsory education stage should be able to find employment or become self employed.

Media Use in the Second Socialization of the People

The general objective of this proposal is to use traditional, print, and electronic media to disseminate the

ideological positions about reconciliation and peace, and about work for a good life presented in the two proposals immediately above. Neither indoctrination through the media, nor censuring of media programs and products is being favored. But there is no reason why the media should not be used for promoting an ethos of work, prosperity, amity and peace. Some of the new institutions of informal education and second socialization that can and should be developed are mobile movie houses, and pop music clubs in villages and towns where young people can go for healthy and clean leisure-time activities. The use of music and dance clubs in small towns in China has shown excellent results.

The Youth in School: IDASA Project for "A Culture of Learning"

The social fabric of South Africa is torn in so many places. The school as a social sector has broken down. There is no "culture of learning" in places of learning. The young in schools must first be taught the values of toleration and processes of negotiation before they can be taught their class lessons. They must practice negotiation -- and learn to agree to disagree, at times -- rather than slide into confrontation and violence. The mutual confrontations among parents, teachers, and pupils must be ended.

The Institute for Democracy in South Africa has started a project to bring parents, teachers and students together and enforce a code of conduct for teaching and learning. So far the project covers 100 schools. This project needs to be expanded to each and everyone of the 30,000 secondary schools through a multiplier model that may cost between 8 to 10 million dollars. Donors can help in this project built around a network of IDASA, other interested NGO's and the South African Vocational Guidance and Career Associations (SAGCA).

Tertiary Education

Being fully cognizant of the disparities embedded in higher education in South Africa and fully aware of the needs of the tertiary education sector, South African educational policy makers have decided to establish a higher education commission to study the problem in comprehensive details and suggest appropriate solutions.

In the meantime, it is important that South Africa should avail of the on-going initiatives of UNESCO in the area of higher education:

(a) Integrated Teacher Education Programmes

All over the world, as expectations from education have increased, the role of the teacher in the educational process has become more and more significant. On the other hand, under conditions of economic depression, natural calamities, and structural adjustment programs imposed on various developing countries, funds for schools have contracted, individual buying power has plunged, and teachers have been forced to leave teaching positions or been obliged to pick up second or third jobs to survive. An integrated response to the situation of teachers is necessary if teachers have to be retained in schools and indeed if the teaching profession has to be helped to recover.

In South Africa, historical forces in play had been different but a similar set of conditions had been created for black teachers teaching in black schools. The situation was exacerbated by the student movement that began with the Sweto uprising in 1976. South African educators now engaged in making implementation plans for teacher education recognize the opposite pulls involved in improving teacher quality and finding resources to deliver training and to institute material incentives. The complex tasks of designing interrelated student curricula and teacher training curricula, designing qualification systems and career paths, unionization and governance are all ahead.

A beginning can perhaps be made by linking with UNESCO's Integrated Teacher Education Programme. This program has networked with influential teacher associations such as Education International, the World Confederation of Teachers and the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, and International Council on Educations for Teachers (ICET) and is thus able to use a fund of experience, good will and professional resources. The UNESCO project has thus been able to study trends in pre-service and in-service training of teachers, the effects of initial training of teachers on their performance in the classroom, and such topics as the effects of structural adjustment on professional standards among teacher. To refurbish teacher training resources within universities, UNESCO Chairs in educational sciences have been established. Attention has been drawn to the possibilities of distance education in pre-service and in-service training and professional advancement of teachers in other ways.

(b) UNIWIN and UNESCO Chairs

Some comments were offered on South Africa's policy agenda in tertiary education earlier in Section II of this paper. Note was taken of the fact that the new government of national unity plans to establish a commission on higher education to offer comprehensive proposals in regard to the development of tertiary

education in the country to meet the needs of the future economy and the new democracy.

In the meantime, it is suggested that:

(a). The historically black colleges and universities should be provided both material and professional assistance through affirmative action programs. One important strategy for assistance to historically black universities could be found in UNITWIN/UNESCO's Chairs Program. Twinning should be arranged with universities and colleges in America, Canada and other English Speaking countries in Africa and Asia. Third World universities, from India for example, should also be candidates for twinning supported from international development resources.

(b). Wherever necessary, remedial programs should be established to prepare black students for college and they should then be helped to stay in college to complete their degree programs. A variety of financial aid programs -- loans, grants and bursaries -- should be made available for them to be able to afford to stay.

(c). While affirmative action in behalf of historically black universities will involve some redirection of resources from historically white universities, existing universities -- predominantly white and mixed -- should not be allowed to deteriorate.

(d). New specializations such as mass communication, agricultural extension, MBA and accountancy -- South Africa needs 200-300 accountants annually -- should be added to the offerings of universities and strengthened where they already exist.

(e). Teacher education should be given due consideration within the university settings. There should be adult education departments in <u>all</u> teacher training institutions. Educational leaders in democratic South Africa are particularly interested in establishing some chairs of adult education in select universities.

At present there are as few as three chairs of adult education in SA at the university of Western Cape (Shirley Walters), University of Cape Town (Clive Miller) and Denzel Russell (University of Witts). The research and training capacity of these universities must be built up systematically.

Science and Technology Education

(a) Science and Technology Literacy

"In today's increasingly technological society, sustainable development and an improved quality of life are to a large extent dependent on our ability to understand and utilize science and technology responsibly, respecting ethical values and protecting the systems on which life itself depends." (UNESCO 1993b, p. 40)."

Scientific and technological literacy have become a universal need as science and technology (S&T) have pervaded our lives at home and work, in sickness and health -- in economic production, political participation, social comforts, and in the enjoyment of leisure and culture. No individual can lead a happy and productive live without understanding use of science and technology and no nation can hope for sustainable development without use of science and technology.

South Africa needs to have a clear-cut and well-considered science and technology policy and an S&T literacy project that on the one hand is integrated with the curriculum of the compulsory stage of education and, on the other hand, is linked with all the levels of ABE with special emphasis on the needs of girls and women.

(b) Pre-University Science and Technology

Too often the impression persists that science and technology is for the bright male student at the upper levels of the higher secondary or at the university level. Such an impression needs correction. Science and technology should be made available and taught to both boys and girls and from the early childhood years. Textbook learning of science and technology should be linked with science and technology at work in our homes, workplaces and communities. Science clubs should be encouraged for the bright student -- boys and girls -- to practice their scientific imagination.

(c) UNESCO 2000+ Project

The South African science and technology policy and projects should link with UNESCO's two on-going science and technology projects: (i) Science and Technology Project 2000+ Education for All and (ii) UNEVOC involving the wider civil society.

UNESCO's 2000+ Project is a followup to the World Conference on Education for All as it also responds to the

concerns expressed at the Earth Summit held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. Project 2000+ is about making S&T an essential component of all basic education. It is about affordable science and technology for human development that will depend more and more on S&T, in a future that is already upon us. It is for countries at all stages of development regardless of their political ideologies, development strategies, and cultural values about population control or women's roles in society.

Resources for such a project should be sought for South Africa and a project designed that seeks to improve the quality of life and productivity of participants, using methods that are pedagogically modern and socially empowering, and also deals with the professional development of teachers and facilitators required to implement the project both formal and nonformal settings.

(d) UNEVOC Programme

As part of its initiatives in technical and vocational education within the orbit of compulsory general education and adult basic education, as also in furtherance of its efforts to vocationalize curriculum of general education, South African educators could profitably relate to UNESCO project UNEVOC that seeks to involve the "Wider Civil Society" in the planning, and delivery of technical and vocational education in innovative ways.

As part of this project, UNESCO has established close cooperation with ILO, FAO, and UNIDO, NGO's, private business corporations, as it seeks to assist member states to build national capacities for the development of general polytechnic, vocational, technician, teacher and instructor training.

The curriculum of vocational education or vocationalization will have to emphasize multi-skilling, and entrepreneurship so that learners do not only seek jobs but can create them. It will be an important challenge to connect vocational training with the world of work and the wider economy.

Population and Preventive Education

International experience has demonstrated repeatedly the necessity of population control as the population bulge in many a developing country, while moving through the social system, has negated all economic gains initially made possible by development strategies. On the one hand, population increases have put terrible pressures on the environment, have deforested the countryside, eroded farm lands, polluted water resources and, consequently, strained health facilities.

The necessity of population education and its twin preventive health care is now universally recognized. Under the section on curriculum above, it was pointed out how we were caught in the dilemma of learning needs that have exploded and the resources of teaching that seem to be contracting.

In the new democratic era in South Africa, almost all curriculum materials are bound to be revised, and rewritten. This once in a life-time opportunity should not be missed. The new global concerns of population education and preventive health must be introduced in the teaching-learning materials so that these ideas can be learned <u>across</u> the curriculum,

<u>Girls and Women's Education</u>

Project: Holding Half the Sky!
Women Teachers; Educure Professionals

The wisdom of an African aphorism that "Women hold up half the sky!" has become translated in state policy under the democratic government of South Africa. Affirmative action is planned in behalf of girls and women to bring them education and employment. Women's access to education at all levels from primary to university, and to all subjects areas from arts to mathematics, sciences and the professions must be assured. All the employment sectors, at all the levels of hierarchies and expertise should be opened up to women.

While all plans for the educational promotion of girls and women should proceed full steam ahead, the pragmatics of the present realities suggests that in the immediate future education and employment opportunities for women should be created in the sectors that are historically and culturally most associated with girls and women. These are primary school teaching and the new program of Educare that the democratic government wants to provide at a national scale.

The democratic government needs to mount a massive program of recruitment, training and deployment of girls and women to train them, depending upon their current qualifications, as educare providers, and teachers in elementary grades of education. More importantly, they should all be given jobs after training. Women and girls should also be trained for work in the ABE area.

Programmes for Out-Of-School Youth

The Youth in the Economy (I): Public Works as Sites for Learning

The problem of the unemployed, and often uneducated youth in South African townships and rural areas, is today considered to be one of the most important concerns of the government. The so-called lost generation has to be refound, reclaimed, and re-integrated into the socio-economic mainstream of the nation.

Solutions to the problems of youth are, of course, not purely educational or training related, though solutions without strong components of education and training are doomed to failure. The frame of greatest promise where learning and working can be brought together in a mutually generative relationship is the Public Works Program for Youth in the process of being launched by the democratic government.

The Public Works program as envisaged will cover both rural and urban areas, and both males and females and defines its objectives as to "provide much-needed infrastructure and to link back into, expand and contribute to the restructuring of the industrial and agricultural base (RDP, 9)."

The Reconstruction and Development document also states: "A further component of the public works programme must be provision of education and training and the involvement of communities in the process so that they are empowered to contribute to their own governance (RDP, 9)." The ABE Group in the Ministry of Education and Training should immediately and urgently respond by providing the educational components expected from it.

The response will require (i) becoming part of the policy and planning groups in the Reconstruction and Development Commission engaged in developing the public works initiative at its early stages; (ii) being informed of the clusters and categories of public works -- repair and maintenance, environmental clean-up, housing, schools, clinics, roads, water development projects, agricultural channels, community centers, etc. -- emerging in both rural and urban areas; and (iii) establishing curriculum and instructional development teams for each category of public works and to develop lists of items of knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for the participating youth to learn in the creation of assets of acceptable quality; writing, testing and producing learning materials needed for the delivery of instruction on site.

The whole scheme of ABE will lose credibility if the ABE section/division can not respond in time and on the scale required by the public works initiative.

The Youth in the Economy (II): Skilling a Half Million

"According to an executive director of the Education Foundation, Mr. Johan van Zijli, in 2000 there will be a shortage of 500 000 skilled workers (including managers and professional occupations) and a surplus of 2,4m unskilled workers (1992/93 Survey, p. 622)"

This should draw the attention of the Ministry of Education and Training to the urgent need for unifying and rationalizing training facilities in South Africa. It may be found useful to learn from the experiences of institutions such as SENAI and SENAC in Colombia and Ecuador in Latin Africa. SENAI / SENAC type institutions may be set up to train first and middle level manpower in trades and occupations required at the time. Wherever necessary, employers should be encouraged through tax incentives to set up training department for themselves. Finally, serious attempts should be made to vocationalize the primary and secondary school curricula.

Entrepreneurship Training for Micro Enterprises

It is estimated that 50 per cent of the blacks between the age of 16 and 40 are unemployed while the formal sector employment is shrinking and will continue to shrink for some time. Entrepreneurship training should be combined with literacy, because in today's culture of print it is difficult to be illiterate and entrepreneurial. In the actual delivery of training, the model of "training in a consultancy mode" should be used to serve the training needs of small-scale business enterprises. Training should be "packaged to be unpacked." In other words, in each case the training needs of a client should be analyzed afresh and training materials and protocols then developed using already available materials, and/or using existing materials adapted to new purposes, and/or by developing brand new materials if necessary.

Adult Basic Education

The National Literacy Mission

The ABE initiative of the new government is a truly massive educational program that needs massive political commitments to match. The idea of a National Literacy Mission for South Africa has been discussed earlier in this paper as part of the 4-level Adult Basic Education (ABE) framework. The point was made that the ABE initiative as a whole may lose credibility unless it includes a clear and articulated focus on adult literacy. The earlier commitment to the universalization of

adult literacy within a reasonable time-frame should not be abandoned.

To keep the 4-level ABE framework and yet retain the commitment to the universalization of adult literacy, it was suggested above that there should be a national mobilization around functional literacy and numeracy -- around Level 1 of the ABE frame -- as an invitation to the print culture! The social mobilizational returns from such a National Literacy Mission will be invaluable for promoting all other projects and programs of reconstruction and development.

Distance Education

As indicated earlier, South Africa already has a sizeable infrastructure for the delivery of instruction at a distance. The ministry need not attempt to establish any new institutions. However, the coordination function is important. A supra-institutional, national plan taking in view the immediate and short term educational and training objectives and the available distant education delivery resources should be developed and implemented.

Coordination and Integration

(a) Holistic Approaches to Reform

South Africa's Policy documents already assume a systems approach to defining problems, understanding their interconnections with other problems, understanding their internal dynamics and the processes of inventing solutions for them. These interconnections have to be articulated every time in planning and implementation. In operational terms, it is necessary, that there be continuous contacts between and among ministries and other agencies. Coordinated planning and implementation should become a regular pattern for work and a habit for workers.

(b) Strategic Choice of Priorities

Governments can, of course, do many things at the same time. A new ministry of education once it comes aboard, will indeed, have to start all over the place! Yet, it is important that each decision maker involved in planning and implementation bite as much as can be chewed.

Also there should be a generative aspect to the choices and sequences of actions taken for implementation. In that vein,

we suggest that the first set of projects chosen for implementation from the preceding list should be:

Networking with NGO's
National Center for Curriculum and Instructional Development
The women's project: Holding Half the Sky
Programmes for Out-of-School Youth, and
The Literacy Mission.
The Culture of Learning Project
Future History Project

(c) Coordination of Donor Inputs

Donor inputs can be both monetary and professional-technical.

Monetary resources. South Africa will, of course, be looking for billions of dollars in loans and grants to take action in land purchase and distribution, housing, water development, electrification and so on. In the area of education and training, however, policy makers and planners do not want to talk about money -- at least not yet.

The education policy makers and planners in South Africa as of now take the position that they do not want to lose either direction or control to outside money tied to particular projects developed outside their policy debate and out of their planning framework. Even on projects within their own planning frame, they want to hasten slowly.

The leadership is also of the opinion that increased allocations to education should not be expected or even requested in a country that in 1993/94 had allocated R27.26 billion for education, representing 21.4% of the total budget and 7.3% of gross domestic product (EduSource, p3). The challenge is seen to lie in reallocations, and rationalization of expenditures: removing the disadvantage of primary education in relation to higher education; of NFE in relation to FE; and of white education in relation to black education

Donors' Response. Donors should respond by generally accepting the positions taken by the educational leadership in South Africa in relation to the plans they have developed. But their is lot that is not in the government's plans. The needs for institution building for the country (and for the Southern African region) do not seem to have been fully articulated. This is where the donor community can play an important part and bring to South Africa gifts that keep of giving. Most of the programs and projects in the section "Innovative Projects" may also need donor support to implement.

Donor Coordination. There is obviously the need for donor coordination to avoid duplication of efforts, to have an appropriate distribution of labor between and among donor agencies, and to be able to time various inputs in a way that each input can play a generative and mutually enriching role in the total program of reconstruction and development.

Donor commitments of resources should be long-term. Plans should be rolling plans so that neither the donor nor the donee gets locked in situations that become untenable as realities unfold. Project proposals should, of course, be well prepared and validated through discussion with all possible stakeholders.

(d) Sub-regional, Regional and International Links

At various places in the paper we have referred to the need for international, regional and sub-regional links.

Relating to the sub-region. We have pointed out that educational leaders of South Africa do their policy making, planning and institution building with an eye on the Southern African sub-region, this for reasons that are both political and practical. The practical reasons are obvious. South Africa has the resources to establish these institutions, and once established these institutions will be able to fulfil national needs and yet have the capacity to serve the needs of the bordering neighboring states. The bordering neighboring states, on the other hand, do not necessarily have the resources for establishing such institutions and once established will be unable to use them to full capacity.

A Southern African perspective rather than a South African focus also makes sense in political terms. South Africa for reasons of stability in the sub-region must contribute to the reconstruction and development effort of their neighbors that would ultimately bring economic development to their homes and villages. If South Africa builds up without building up its neighbors, massive in-migration may create instability in the sub-region and even conflict.

Relating to Africa. South Africa must also coordinate and integrate with the whole African region. Africa is already being written off by donors as a continent without hope. South Africa has to set an example of "a democratic government that works" and of an example of management of economy that brings back hope to the continent. An all-Africa vision may be necessary to develop that is not only political (for example, dealing with political refugees) but also economic (for example, based on food sufficiency on the continent, environment, water development and industrialization).

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